VOL. IV.-NO. 36.

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1850.

WHOLE NO. 192.

the Mattonal Kra is Published Weekly, on Seventh Street, opposite Odd Fellows Hall. TERMS.

I wo dollars per annum, payable in advance.

A lvertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent insertion. twenty-five cents. All communications to the Era, whether on business of the paper or for publication, should be addressed to G. Bailer, Washington, D. C.

BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS, Nixth street, a few doors south of Pennsylvania avenue

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 2, 1850.

Torthe National Era. HER

BY CHARLES LIST. The bues that In the flower shine Like pligrims kneeling round autrine
Called by its sanctity alone.

Not searching mines and caves with yows Those gems their fadeless beauty find, That power arrays on kingly brows

To flatter pride and awe mankind Not by some dark and cunning scheme Pursued with wearying toll and thought, Not fancying in the idlest dream

That fortune such a gift had brought That hill received its piny crest, That sunset cloud its purple robe, its dark blue veil the ocean's breast Its silver armor yonder globe.

No finny Mentor needs the fish That, seeking food and pleasure, roves Where nature grants him every wish, In sunny streams or coral groves.
The bird in all its tasks how skilled,

Taught by no sage the use of spring No warbling Mendelssohn to sing. But not an easy task is life

To trim who sees in nature's plan, The duty and the power of man; Or to the rays of wisdom's sun. May sink in pain or rise in bliss, That life and universe are one

When learning opens all her serolls, Explaining each obscure device, He sees how many worthy souls When science sets with stars his sky,

He sees what gulfs around him lie, Of bright and cherished hopes the tombs Yet knows that love will turn to light, And generous deeds to costly gems, To clothe us all in robes of white,

And crown our brows with diadems That bards who sing in ecstasy Of happier homes in lands divine, Tell faintly what the earth would be Then may he calmly seek his way

Though thorny doubts before him rise, And truth's obscure and struggling ray With feeble aid his feet supplies Augels his weary steps shall count His thoughts and hopes - hall heavenly grow, His heart become a crystal fount Whence streams of joy shall ever flow.

THE MASQUERABE OF S- FORT. STORY OF THE PREMCH AND INDIAN WAR.

For the National Era.

BY MARY IRVING.

In glancing over the quaint chronicles of the Indian wars, it is pleasant to turn from gory tales of savage cruelty, to the few instances where that cruelty was baffled. Pleasantest is such a story, heard by the fading coals of a winter fire, from the lips of some good old grandmamma. I have a friend, who is neither grandmother nor aunt yet she tells me many a tale of the olden time. The incidents of the following story she heard from the lips of the principal heroine, who died at an advanced age, some thirty or forty years ago.

The Massachusetts colony, as it suffered first also suffered most severely from the depredations of the savages. In the hill-country of its western frontier, their frequent surprisals and skirmishes left the settlers little quiet or peace of mind. Every town had its "fort," and for som years scarcely a season passed, when some alarm did not drive the inhabitants within its walls The "getting into fort," as it used to be termed in letters of that day, came to be anticipated and

provided for, almost as naturally as the "getting in" of the crops. At one time, the settlers of the now pleasan village of S-, on account of some menacing

demonstrations, had left their log-cabined farms

and intrenched themselves within their strong hold. There seemed no imminent danger; bu it was a time of war, and they knew too well the risk of carelessness. They had remained there for several months, however, without being seriously molested, when their stock of provisions began to fall short. A council upon the affairs of the larder was forthwith held. The nearest point at which flour could be obtained was a fort dis tant a journey of a day and a half. To reach it, they must thread dark forests filled with hostile Indians. It was decided that the men should go in a body on the hazardous expedition, leaving the women and children unprotected for three days, but, as they trusted, safe. Accordingly they stole out, with muffled tread, just before the dawn of day, and marched off in solid phalanx, leaving, besides the boys and one trusty sentinel, only the old and the disabled of their sex to guard their choicest treasures. The day of their departure passed as idly and as tediously as days in the

The women were sauntering languidly within or about the barricades; and a group of boys and girls, the only things that seemed to retain the spirit of life, were playing at "hide and seek" among the unnumbered old chests, barrels, baskets, and bundles, that made up the joint stock of the community.

crowded fort were wont to pass. The sun at last

sank lazily down the western slope of the sky,

throwing shadow-mantles upon the forest trees

that circled the fort around, at a safe distance.

In a turreted, stuffed, arm chair, at one end o the principal room, sat a girlish-looking matron, whom you would have marked at once as an exotic flower in that hard soil. She was not wondrously beautiful, but slight, graceful, and fairylike in face and figure, wearing that indefinable something that envelopes the true lady everywhere, he she crowned with a sun-bonnet or coronet. As respects externals, she was dressed in the same coarse robes those around her wore but a babe lay sleeping on her arm, and its 'broidered muslin frock was scarcely whiter than the hand that pressed it to its mother's breast. Lily usetts as she was, we will call her

On a high bench by the window towered a perfect contrast to our lowly lily. The sunflower would have been fittest emblem of the tall, brownfeatured and brown-haired woman, who sat wield ing a giant needle-it could not be called sewingagainst a huge rent in some soldler's habiliment Peggy W. (you could never have convinced her of a claim to the awan-like name of Margaret) had a pair of eyes that flashed, rather than looked. They glanced always sidelong from a brist-ling array of guardian lashes, shaded by a brow dark as a hill-top against the twilight sky. One of these glances fleshed upon Lilian, as she paused to knot her thread. The young mother was leaning upon the hard cushions of her chair, gazing

dreamily through the port-hole of a window, or the thin clouds that scaled its "spot of sky."

"You're kind o' lonesome, hey?" inquired Miss

W., in a condescending tone, as though she were addressing a child. Lilian shook back a stray lock, and smiled

little anxiously.

yonder," she answered.

ived up country"say, from her own tough experience; but the

bacco again. Old Fire-Arrow—his unpronounceable Indian

"Don't let him in," added she, as she gave the parcel into the soldier's hand. Walking along to the wicker crib, she took her babe's tiny hand, and stood watching its lips, parting to every

Suddenly Miss W. sprang up from her bench dropping her work, with a half-suppressed scream

Before she could open her lips again, the door was burst after, and the old sentinel staggered in with a fear-blanched face. "Oh God! have me-ov neces as !" he ejaculated, unsteadily.

bosom of every timid listener, and all sprang up, pale and quivering-all but Peggy W, who, having recovered her momentarily lost self-posses sion, stepped before him with arms a-kimbo. "Well!" what are you shaking here for " she demanded, flashing her leopard-like glance on his

"I know it! I spied the dastardly skulkers behind yonder bush clump! But what said that

We are the victims of a deep-laid plot," re turned the old soldier. "The savages have waited for this opportunity. They have tracked our men, and they are to attack us to-night! God best knows our doom or our defence. I must not

best knows our doom or our defence. I must not stay here!"

Sobs and shricks drowned his departing footsteps. None heeded another in the first moment of that confused anguish.

"My God! my husband!" faltered Lilian, tottering to the cradle of her child. She sank to the floor with clasped hands, bowing her head upon them in a mother's agony and hopelessness.

"Hush! every mother's child of you!" rang out Miss W.'s shrill voice; and Lilian looked instinctively up to the only undaunted eye in the stinctively up to the only undaunted eye in the

"Silence, and up with you! You've something else to do than to sob away your senses in hysterics, to-night! Mrs. L, are you going to sit there "Be of the control of the c that chisney piece? I've mether chick nor child, thank Heaven! but if I had forty, they should see to-morrow's sun shine, please God?"
"God! our only hope is in Him!" gasped poor

e now. Friends, follow me !" She sprang into the guard-room with an elasti se echo seemed to galvanize the whol throng of fainting ones behind her. This room tapestried with the regimentals and clothes, new and old, of the garrison. A great part of its fur-niture had absented itself with its lawful owners;

as they were, remained.
"Throw down the regimentals!" she cried.

scond best coat over her own broad chest.
"'Slow enough of understanding, are ye all

of our garrison has been left here, they will b likely to let us alone? You are to rig up instant y, and show yourselves in and about the fort Phere is light enough yet to make ourselves visi-

n the capacity of annateur valet, tossed a suit of a ailor's "Sunday wearing" to Lilian. "They'll o you"—she commented, with a measuring

to fasten the brass buttons of the sea-green jack-et; and an instinctive blush bloomed in her white cheek, as Miss Peggy rudely seized her to assist "Follow me!" again spoke the intrepid leader. The old sentinel started, as the strange troop emerged from the inner room. He had been leaning on his firelock, in bewildered despair; and now he looked as though a new bewildermen

"This is folly, madness!" he ejaculated.

hend, sir? and I am not in a mood to b

"But Miss Peggy, Miss W., if I understand you, why not show yourselves on the battlements it would be safer and better."
"We will mount them after we have shown

her rusty sword above her head, watched with piercing glance her out-coming troop. A motley assemblage it was indeed, a caricature of a mas-querade, which, at any other time and place might have provoked a monk of La Trappe to a roar of merriment. "Tattered and torn gar-menta," a "world to wide," hung loosely on the delicate figures they shrouded. Here a swordless scabbard heaved over a quick-beating side, there a trembling hand held up a flintless fire-lock. Stuffed soldiers caps shielded straying locks from betrayal, and slouched old hats drooped over faces too pale. Lilian L. stepped last over the threshold, with a glance behind her, and a second

desperate leader, in a tone of smothered thun-der; " will you betray all our scalps by fainting

"I could almost conjure up skulking Indians

out of the shadows among those gnarled old trees

She was going on to "wind a yarn," as sailors

thread was enupped in the cutset by the ald sen-

"Mrs. L., here is old Fire-Arrow, for his to- "Yes'm, and cooked."

cious weed.

of surprise or terror.

An electric shock of terror shot through the

bleaching countenance. "The Indians!"

copper-face outside ?"

"Our hope is in the common sense He has given us, I tell you! We have not one moment to

still a goodly array of garments and guns, such

"Throw down the regimentals!" she cried, suiting the action to the word. All the old clothes, too—quick!" They obeyed her mechanically and wonderingly.

Now, put them on!" she commanded, briefly.
"Miss Peggy, what do you mean?"
"I mean to save our scalps," retorted the dauntless woman, while-she buttoned the first officer's

Do you not comprehend, that if these fiends in carnate can be cheated into the belief that a part

Silently every woman fitted herself to the trange garments; it was not an hour for hesita-ion or for debate. Miss W., who strode about

Timid Lilian's fingers trembled too violently

"Throw your drum over your shoulders, and throw open the gates!" commanded the Colonel

"You are not-you cannot march out agains "I am taking my garrison out to parade, do yo

ourselves before the gateway. Lieut L.! bring up the rear! Heads up! hearts firm, comrades! for-get that you are women this hour! Now!" She stepped outside the gate, and flourishing her rusty sword above her head, watched with

to the wood-circle around them. Her lips paled again, she reeled, and lowered her head.

now? In with you!"

Lilian wavered an instant between fear and shame. The latter conquered; and, with head proudly raised and steps apparently firm, she followed. Yet that death-like faintness again ebbed to her heart as the shadows by the tree trunks secmed to take fresh life. They marched in as they had gone out, with beat of drum. "Now to the battlements," added the conduct-

"How many of you can fire off a gun ?"
Oh, dear! not I!"

"Oh, dear! not I!"

"Oh, dear! not I!"

"Oh, mercy! no!" exclaimed one and another, shrinkingly, as their General commenced loading a formidable-looking rifle.

"I can!" chirped a peony-cheeked lassie of fourteen, springing to her side. "I have shot a squirrel with my brother's musket!"

"And I," added an elderly lady, "have shot a wolf in the sheep pen when my busband was ill and siling; but that was years ago."

"You can all do it," returned Miss W, putting her own weapon on the cock, and ordering all the serviceable arms to be taken down. "It is a matter of necessity now; we must give their cars matter of necessity now; we must give their cars a connonading."

Has any of my lady readers ever attempted to bandle a gun realty loaded? And does she re-member the thrill which the first touch of such deadly wespon poured over her nerves, before she ventured to actually pull the trigger, and start back in horror at her own audacity? Then can she realize the trembling of hand and limb. and the wavering of heart and nerve, when the discharge of a dozen guus pealed from the logpillared battlements of that fort. It was enough. Twilight was fading, and night coming on. Woman's skill had done what human skill could do,

"Never speak of the Evil One, and he won't appear, child! You're scary—not used to being left without your husband. Now I—when father night, it will do no harm in life, and it may bring us a world of good. Lie down about-those that can; for my own part, I watch to-night."
"I'm sure none of us 'll think of sleeping

monned one and another.
" W. ol' bash ! don't fret your nerves: you may

"Is there not a barrel of tar in the out-room?

name had been thus translated—was a trustworthy friend to the whites, and cherished a peculiarly grateful attachment toward Colonel L, the
husband of Lilian.

Lilian laid her nursling carefully into its crib,
stepped to a closet above the high mantel shelf,
and taking down a sort of horn pouch, carved off
with her delicate hand a huge quid of the prewith her delicate hand a huge quid of the pre-

prayer as the hour of danger teaches.

The night wore away. Its hours, intolerably. agonizingly long as they were, still passed at last. The moon rose soon after midnight, and looked in like an angel comforer upon the eyes that glared eagerly from every port hole. Had the savages awaited her signi torch? It was feared;

savages awated her signif torch? It was reared; but no, she continued to pour down unwavering shadows on the still grass.

The dawn of day lifted the dreadful burden of suspense—their lives were safe for long hours yet to come, and the reactim of feeling left most hearts weaker than in the first moments of terror. They thanked God, wept, prayed, conspect their children, and at ength scattered themselves here and there, to relax their overstrained nerves in repose. Miss Wester a little vigilant band, among whom was air physically weak, but mentally courageous Liian, kept watch and guard-mounted the bardcades, and discharged their weapons occasionaly with great firmness. Thus passed the day, and another night came on. In the first watch of that night, nearly all the weary eyes had closed in slumber. Peggy W. sat alone, on the seat where we first saw her, straining her eyes to penetrate the dim veil of starbut no, she continued to pour down unwavering ing her eyes to penetrate the dim veil of star-light; for the moon was not yet up. She had not closed those eyes for nearly forty hours; still their fire was not quenched, though the brow above them looked haggard with watching. Her cheek

leaned upon the rough sheve of the coarse coat she wore, her arm resting on the iron bars of the win-"Aunt Peggy!" exclaimed an urchin with a head as white as the long gown he were, stumbling along from the inner room; "Aunt Peggy, I want

"I don't want to: I'm thirsty—my throat

"Bless yourself that you have yet a throat to "Bless yourself that you have yet a throat to ache! In with you!"

The incipient "lord of creation" seemed in no haste to obey; for he rubbed his sleepy eyes with the sleeve of his night-gown, and "took an observation by the dim light of the tallow candle.

"I say," observed he, "you talk curious and you look funny enough. I think," he added, deliberately, "I shall call you uncle Peggy instead of Aunty!"

"Be off-young one-you!"

"But," persisted the provoking youngster;
"when will you put on your gown and cap again,
and be Aunty?"

A well-aimed stroke of the arm was here dodged A well-aimed stroke of the arm was here dedged by the skilful young gentleman, whom it fright-ened into a precipitate fit of obedience, if making the desired use of his heels might thus be construed. His aunt was in no haste to pursue him however. Her ear had caught an ominous rust

Ma'am!" spoke the sentinel under the winw, in a muffled whisper.
"I hear!" she returned, in the same tone.

"It may be foes, and it may be friends. If it's our men, they'll march straight up to us. Wait

was breezelessly still, the fall of a chesnut or the chirp of a squirrel in the forest might have been detected by their ears. The rustling grew more distinct, the trampling of many feet; but a stealthy trampling followed. Oh! for one gleam of moonlight! Miss W. turned to lay her hand of moonlight! upon the gun beside her, and stood like a statue Dark shadows now loomed up from the shadow night; they increased in number—they seeme to form a line before the very gate—there they

I must hail them," murmured the sentinel. "Do so," breathed Miss W.
"Friend or foe?" resolutely rang out hi

strong voice.
"Old boy, is that you!" responded the quick agitated voice of one who sprang forward, while deep groan, like "Thank God!" in true English accents, ran through the now broken line.

Col. L., for it was no other, darted past the sentinel, and stumbled against Miss W. in the dimly-lighted passage.
"How's this!" He started back at the appari

ion. "Where's my brother?" cried our heroine

wildly.
"Your brother! where is my wife!" They awaited no mutual answer, but each rushed onward to stem the living torrent that was pouring in from opposite directions, into that nar row passage. The awakened women, utterly heedless of their apparel, in the frenzy of their sud den safety, were rushing to meet their husbands brothers, and fathers, who could ill recognise them Col. L. shook every clinging hand away, and burs

into the inner-room.

Lilian had lain down beside her babe, upon straw pallet on the floor. The shricks of surprise She was lifting herself upon one elbow, with a countenance full of bewildered terror. The seablue sailor's jacket (for the night gave it a deep er hue) loosened, fell back from her white arm and neck; and her unbraided locks were falling i disorder over it.

The officer cast a sweeping glance over the apartment—he scarcely comprehended the whole but she did. With a quick, incredulous cry, like one dreaming, she sprang forward, and fell at his "What-what's this!" he cried. "The voic

"What—what's this!" he cried. "The voice is the voice of Lilian, but by all that is— A glass of water, somebody! ho there."

The whole throng poured into the apartment; the women laughing and sobbing hysterically; their sterner husbands not a whit more unmoved Strong men sat down like children, and wiped away big drops from their brown cheeks.

"But what is the matter?" exclaimed Miss W.
"Pretty fine, this! If you're making women of yourselves, I'm thinking we'll keep on the regi-mentals! What is all this flummery about ?"
"Was it flummery to dream that you were al-murdered, butchered in cold blood, or carried into a captivity worse?" exclaimed Col. W., looking up from his charge. "The old Indian Fire-Arrow met us early on our return, with tidings of your peril, which he had risked his head to

"You might ha' known we could have taker "We knew that Heaven alone could take car of you," solemnly replied the officer.

"And to Heaven give all the glory," added the rich voice of the minister, who stood beside

"What put this lucky disguise into your "It was Miss W.'s thought," murmured Lil ian from her husband's arm, her colorless cheek kindling into a warm glow, as she glanced from Col. L's. eye to her page-like array. the whole credit of the idea."

"We owe you more than our hearts can repay in words, Miss W. P exclaimed the officer, seizing her hand with a vice-like grasp.

erate men last eve!"
"Well, we have kept the premises clear for you, you see!"

"What nerved you to such heroism?"

"Why, only a little common sense; and, moreover, I had a pretty stout will to live a while longer in this sinful world!"

"That is the 'lever that moves the world !"
smilingly spoke the minister.

tinel, who just then stepped to the door, calling | need them before morning, though I trust not | new ment were compressed were compressed and may be disregarded by the masquerading heroines into the belief that | worthy of much respect, and may be disregarded

name which had won so much noner, lived to pass, a good old age in our quiet times of "unromantic civilization." Somewhat of the romantic love of hazard lingered about her, however, for she persevered in tenanting, to the last, an old house whose timbers would scarcely hold together above her head, and which she was forced to leave in all the second of the second

She went to her rest in the old kirt-yard, with the burden of more than eighty years bowing her once erect form; and peace to her memory.

> For the National Era. "DARE TO STAND ALONE."

BY FRANCES D. GAGE Be firm, be bold, be strong, be true, " And dare to stand alone;

Strive for the right, whate'er ye do, Nay-bend not to the swelling surge

Of popular speer and wring; With current wild and strong Stand for the right. Humanity implores, with groans and tears,

Thine aid to break the festering links

That bind her toiling years.

Stand for the right. Though falsehood rail. And proud lips coldly sneer, A poisoned arrow cannot wound A conscience pure and clear.

Stand for the right, and with clean hands Exalt the truth on high; Thou'lt find warm, sympathising hearts Among the passers by.

Men who have seen, and thought, and felt,

Yet could not boldly dare The battle's brunt, but by thy side Will every danger share. Stand for the right; proclaim it loud, Thou'lt find an answering tone

in horest hearts, and thou no more

SPEECH OF HON. J. CROWELL,

OF OHIO, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES JUNE 3, 1850,

ernor, 14,213—a larger vote than has ever been given by any of the new States at the time of ad-In Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. On the President's Message relating to California.

Mr. CROWELL said : Mr. CHAIRMAN: My desire to progress with the public hasiness, and probe-a upon the various propositions before us, forbade me at an early day to take part in the discussion which has consumed so much of our time since the commencement of the present session. And after I had changed my original purpose, and made up my mind to be heard upon "the great question of the day," the difficulty of obtaining the floor among such a multitude of competitors has been so disheartening, that I have more than has been so disheartening, that I have more than once resolved to cease all further efforts to address the Committee. But not having been wholly unobservant of the fruit which perseverance yields, and having been early taught to cultivate the grace of patience, I have held out to the present moment; and now, Mr. Chairman, through your kindness, I have secured the floor, and will proceed at once to the immediate subject under consideration. And that is, as I understand it, the Message of the President of the United States communicating to this House the United States communicating to this House the Constitution of California.

I do not cherish the vain hope that anything may say will have the slightest influence upon the vote of a single member of this House. To give the reasons of my own vote, and vindicate the course which I deem it just to pursue, will be the main purpose of my remarks. If the Constitution of California shall be found to be in compliance with the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States, the President carnestly recommends that it may receive the sanction of Congress. In this recommendation, sir, it is hardly necessary for me to my I cordially concur. I am in favor of the immediate admission of Cal-I am in havor of the immediate admission of California into the Union, unembarrassed with any
other subject of legislation, with its present ample boundaries and its glorious free Constitution.
There is no limit er qualification in the Constitution of the United States to the power granted
to Congress to admit new States into the Union,
and when in the Union the United States again. and when in the Union, the United States guar anty to every State a republican form of Govern

ment.

But an unexpected and, permit me to add, an unjustifiable opposition, has lately made its appearance, and various objections have recently been invented and urged in a certain quarter, against the admission of California as one of the States of this Union. Whatever form these objections may assume, and whatever disguise they may be made to wear, it is plain to my mind, and truth obliges me to say, that they are actuated by a kindred motive, and all spring from a common origin—a determined, but most unjustifiable hostility to the provisions of her Constitution interdicting slavery within her limits.

The first section of her Bill of Rights declares,

The first section of her Bill of Rights declares "that all men are, by nature, free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing, and protect-ing property, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness;" and as a corollary drawn from these great and fundamental truths, the eighteenth section provides that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of rrimes, shall ever be tolerated in this State?
These are the provisions in the Constitution of
California which awaken so much hostility in the American Congress, in the year eighteen hun-dred and fifty, and the sanction of which, we are told by some, would be sufficiently offensive to call for and to justify a disruption of this

Sir, I am not prepared to believe, without further proof, that madness and folly have gained such dominion, have schieved so complete a triumph over any considerable portion, even of the Southern people, notwithstanding the late occurable would seem to imply. I am incredulous, and must wait for further developments before I am

onvinced.

But let us consider the objections which the apon of California to become one of the States of this Union has encountered, and weigh them candidly and impartially. And though they are numerous, and urged with an appearance of zeal and earnestness, I think it will be found an easy matter to remove them. The first is, that no act of Congress was passed authorizing the people of the Territory to form a State Constitution. This is true, and if the previous action of Congress were necessary to give this power to the people, the objection would be fatal. But it is not necessary. Congress has the power to admit new States, and it is perfectly competent, in the exercise of this power, to dispense with all preliminary forms, and we find that it has been done repeatedly during the threescore years that have stapped since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Eight States have been admitted in this way, being a majority of the whole number ever admitted, and extending over the whole period of the of this Union has encountered, and weigh them

strated. If it was now a question, however, of the first impression, and were without precedent to guide us, I for one should maintain that the preliminary action of Congress would be more regular and more conformable to the dignity and importance of the subject. Such preliminary ac-tion would be viewed as an invitation to the peo-"Aye, sir! a right hearty will always finds its
way!"

Rest came down like a mantle upon relieved hearts that night, when the moon again climbed from the forest tope, up the clear, brightening heaven. heaven.

It was afterwards ascertained that the Indians had actually assembled from three different points, to make an attack upon the fort during the

had been larger than their calculations. Accordingly, they deferred, as we have seen, their deadly attempt.

"Aunt Peggy W," for she never changed a mane which had won so much honor, lived to pass a good old age in our quiet times of "unroman ago them above corrupting influences and the suspi-cion of selfish and impure motives, we bow with respectful deference to their decisions, as we do to those of respectable judicial tribunals. Ob-jections, however, to following legislative preceleave in nights of violent wind or strm, for the anglety of life and limb.

establishing them, and by whose votes and other official acts they have frequently been sanctioned.

There is another reacon, independent of those already advanced, justifying the course of California—I refer to the shameful neglect of Congress at its last session, in fulfilment of solemn treaty obligations, to provide a Government for her. The Territory was left without any legal protection, except that of a mere military Government. Her condition was a peculiar one. The wealth of the country was beyond computation, and the published accounts of it struck the world with amazement. Her mountains, lifting their baskies, were filled with the problem metals, and her rivers literally and without a figure of meanly applied over golden sands to the metals, and her rivers literally and without a ng-ure of speech rolled over golden sands to the ocean. Was pepulation, but by and land, was rapidly increasing, and impelled by a neces-sity that almost forbid waiting to look up precedents, the people proceeded at once, and very wisely, in my judgment, to form a State Govern-ment. The Constitution is before us, and it evidences a degree of statesmanship, and is imbued with a spirit of devotion to republican liberty, that would be creditable to the oldest State in this Union. With all the earnestness with which I am able to give utterance to the feelings and wishes of my heart, I for one bid our young sis-ter on the Pacific coast a hearty and cordial wel-

come to the family circle.

But another objection is urged, and that is, the want of sufficient population; and this is as friv-olous as the one already considered. It is impossible, of course, to state definitely, and with en-tire accuracy, the number of inhabitants in Calitire accuracy, the number of inhabitants in California when the constitutional convention assembled. We do know, however, the number of votes cast at the recent election, and from them the number of inhabitants may be estimated with sufficient certainty for all practical purposes. On the first of January last, the population, it is believed, exceeded one hundred thousand, and at the present time it is probably more than one hundred and fifty thousand.

The popular vote on the adoption of the Constitution was 12,811, and at the election of Gov-

mission into the Union, with a single exception, the State of Wisconsin, as facts will show. Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812. wards the former gave only 8,075 votes, and the latter 7,465. Arkansas and Michigan were ad-mitted in 1836, and at the Presidential election of that year the former gave 3,638 votes, and the latter 11,360. Under the fourth census of 1820, the ratio of representation was 35,000; under the fifth, 47,700; and under the sixth and present it is 70,080. It remains to be seen what it will be under the one which is about to be takeen. Since the present ratio of representation was established. Florida and Iowa have been admitted, the former tion afterwards, Florida gave 5,301 votes, and Iowa 13,271 votes; and at this election, with a less popular vote than California has exhibited, Iowa elected two members to this House, and they were both admitted to seats without opposition. Wisconsin was also admitted in 1848, and with a popular vote of 22,590 at the first election under her Constitution; she is now represented on this

floor by three members.

But if this objection is not available, another is offered to supply its place. The State, we are told, is too large, and its limits ought to be diminished. The memorial of the Senators and Repre-sentatives elect from California places this matter in its true light. I give an extract from that docu-

ment;
"Objections have been urged against the boundaries of California, as fixed by her Constitution.
The convention which settled upon the existing boundary was engaged during three days in debate upon that subject. There were two parties, or rather two prepositions: 1. To take in the whole of California as it existed when a department of Mexico; but with a Proviso that Congress and the State Legislature might limit the bounds of the State to the summit of the Sierra Nevads, and leaving it to Congress to establish Territorial Governments over such portions of the country as it might see fit. 3. To divide the whole territory on the 116th degree of west longitude from south ern boundary of Oregon to the northern boundary of Mexico, that portion of said territory lying west of said 116th degree of west longitude, and between that line and the Pacific ocean, to constitute the State of California. The opinion of the convention was so nearly divided between these two propositions, that both were supported by a majority at different times during the informal stages; and, on the final passage, the present boundary was adopted as a species of compre-

"This question called out the most vehement

and angry debate which was witnessed during the

sitting of the convention. The project of fixing the southern boundary of the State on the parallel of 36° 30' was never entertained by that body Indeed, when it is recollected that eleven of the Delegates sitting in the Convention represented a large constituency south of that line, it is at once apparent that it would have been a most un-just and discourteous act to have listened to such just and discourteous act to have listened to such a proposition, unless it came from them. The people of the southern portion of California most certainly did not wish, and probably never would consent to, such a separation. In former years they constituted the great majority of the population; they have always been governed by the same laws; and they would be the last to sanction a division of California, as they have always known it. In a political point of view, too, it would seem desirable that these original Mexican citizens should become, as speedily as possible, Americans in sentiment and language; and there certainly can be no more effectual mode of accomplishing this, than by bringing them into that daily contact which an existence under the same laws and tact which an existence under the same laws and the same social, political, and commercial regula-tions must inevitably produce. In the extreme North, also, the adventurous miners had crossed the coast range, and penetrated to the headwaters of the Trinity river, which finds its way through an unexplored and dangerous Indian country to the Pacific ocean. As the abundance of gold found there rendered it probable that a large community would soon become permanently established in that region, the convention felt that it could not refuse them the benefits and protection of a Gov-ernment, by circumscribing the limits of the State in that direction. The sastern boundary of the State, so far as explored and known, runs through a desert. A small portion of the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada is said to be adapted to agricultural and grazing purposes; and as that country, when settled, must necessarily find an outlet across the mountains into the valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and as it could never have any natural connection with the country to the eastward of it, by reason of the great desert, it was thought advimable and proper to include that strip of territory in the bounds of the State. That portion of the State lying to the southward and eastward of the Sierra Nevada and "You owe me—nothing at all! How you squeeze a body's fingers! I was only taking proper care of my own precious self. The worst fright was when you halted there before the gate. What possessed you to sneak along so like foxes?"

"What could we think, but that the enemy had garrisoned instead of burning our fort, when we found its walls yet standing! It seemed hoping

against reason to dream of your successful resist. assembling a constitutional convention, and if not of John C. Fremont, is known to be of that charance for an hour. It was running a perilous risk unreasonably delayed, would perhaps be desirate venture here in the darkness; but we were desperate men last eve!"

acter. The general impresssion, therefore, is that that part of the territory included in the State perate men last eve!"

ble; but such authority is not necessary, as the practice of the Government has clearly demonity demonity that part of the territory included in the State boundaries is of little or no value. The superficial area of the State of California, according to the boundaries prescribed in her Constitution, is 155,550 square miles, or 99,552,000 square acres. exclusive of the islands adjacent to her coast. A glance at the map prepared by order of the United States Senate, from the surveys of John Charles Fremont, and other authorities, upon which the above calculation is based, will at once satisfy all that the topographical characteristics of that country are peculiar and novel. Two great chains of mountains, the Sierra Nevada and the coast range, traverse it in nearly its whole extent from north to south. The large valleys that lie between those two ranges, and the small lateral valleys that pierce their rugged sides in every direction are the valuaexclusive of the islands adjacent to her coast. A their rugged sides in every direction, are the valua-ble arable portion of the land of California. Assum-ing, then, that two-fourths of the whole superficial the State are surrend

es; that is, 38,887½ square miles, or 24,888,000 House. Square acres of arable and productive land. This estimate, in the opinion of the undersigned, is fully borne out by the topographical surveys of the country; but, anxious as they are to see their best attement, they do not hesitate to assert their belief that it is quite apparent, after all due allowances, that three fifths of the whole territory embraced in the State of California will never be sueceptible of cultivation or useful to man. This ceptible of cultivation or useful to man. This, then, would give, as the remaining two-fifths, 62,220 square miles, or 39,820,800 square acres, which would constitute the sum total of valuable arable and grazing land embraced within the boundary fixed by the Constitution of the State of California, and distributed at intervals over the whole surface of the country, from its extreme northern to its extreme southern limits. The foregoing are believed to be substantially the reasons which led to the establishment of the present

boundary of California."

To the full and candid exposition of the motives and reasons that governed the convention in settling the question of boundaries contained in the foregoing extract, I deem it unnecessary to add a single word. They ought to be satisfactory to every unprejudiced mind, and word want myself to doubt they will be. If this is a valid objection and would invite the satisfactory objection, and would justify us in driving California from our doors when she respectfully asks for admission, and refusing her application to become admission, and revosing her application to become a member of the Union, a great outrage was perperirated, which has not yet been atoned for, by the admission of Texas with a territory nearly three times as large. The friends of Texas will surely not withhold their votes on this account.

Another objection to California rests upon the

Another objection to California rests upon the assumption of Presidential interference with the people of the territory, to persuade them to form a State Government. If this be true, it is not perceived how it could impair the constitutional rights of the new States, and prevent her admission into the Union. The alleged intermeddling of the President with the people of the territory might be a just cause of complaint against him, if extended beyond the scope of his appropriate duties; but it could work no injury to the just rights of California. Let us inquire into the facts, however, and ascertain whether the charge has any ever, and ascertain whether the charge has any foundation in truth, or is not the offspring merely of hatred and ill will to the Executive; for in my efforts to obviate objections to the admission of California, it is only the naked truth which I seek, and intend to present to the Committee. Soon after the inauguration of the present Chief Magistrate, an accusation was put in circulation against him in the Western and Northern States, for mischievous purposes, as many believed at the time that he had exerted, and would continue to exert, the influence which his official position gave him to secure the extension of slavery into the newlyacquired territories, and especially in California And after the failure of the Walker amendment, which he was charged with persuading members of Congress to support, he had sent, it was asserted, an | eminent statesmen of that day, and as conclusive ary from a slave State to se This story. I am aware, was considered by many and denounced, as a fabrication. It was neverthen less repeated, and not without success, by the ori-ginal inventors, and all others who could be enlist through all the channels of communication open to lic ear, during the season and up to the close of the fall elections. This was done, no doubt, upon the principle which it is said governs a certain class of politicans when in straitened circumstances—that a falsehood, however ridiculous and

slavery; and it was easy to make the people be-lieve that everything would be done to consummate the original iniquitous design.

But when California had adopted a free Constitution, by which the hopes of the slavery ex-tensionists were blasted, and was about to apply for admission as a member of the Federal Union the President was accused by adversaries in another quarter, who were vexed with disappointment and not willing to be outdone in the business of slander and detraction, of prostituting the powers of his high office for the inexcusable and nefarious purpose of excluding slavery from the new State. And to this end, it was said, he had sent his agent, clothed with an official character, and armed wit secret instructions, to overawe and intimidate the people on the Pacific coast, and worry them into compliance with his wishes. This grave and imposing charge, directly conflicting with the former one, and branding it in fact with falsehood, was manufactured for Southern circulation, and put forth with an air of confidence and assurance

absurd, perseveringly adhered to, and constantly reiterated, is as good as the truth. The public

mind, then in a state of feverish excitement, was easily inflamed in the non-slaveholding States on

this subject. It was known that the Mexican war had been provoked and prosecuted for the purpose of adding new realms to the domains of

that could have been inspired only by the suc-cess which attended its predecessor in the North-And to give color and character to this device it has been repeated in debate on this floor, and resolutions, at an early day, were offered in both resolutions, at an early day, were effered in both branches of Congress, of a most commanding and formidable length, calling on the President for the proof to work his conviction. With characteristic and praiseworthy promptness, the call was obeyed. And, as a response to the resolutions, we have an imposing volume of one thousand pages laid on our desks. From this immense mass of printed matter, not the least particle of proof can be gathered as elemed. red or gleaned to convict the President of any nterference whatever in regard to the domestic

nstitutions of California.

But this is not all. The President himself de-But this is not all. The Fresident himself denies, in the most emphatic manner, the alleged interference; and in the absence of any proof, this certainly ought to be satisfactory to all candid and unprejudiced minds. The Government agent, [Mr. Kina.] who was accused of being the instrument of the Executive in consummating his designs in California, has denied it; and the members of Congress elect few that State in these bers of Congress elect from that State, in their memorial to this House, have also denied it; and rewspapers recently received from San Francisco indignantly deny it; and surely the enemies of California will not be so uncandid and unjust as to insist upon an objection that we have shown has no foundation whatever in fact.

Mr. Chairman, I have thus given an inventory, and briefly noticed the principal objections brought forward against the admission of California, and I have endeavored to remove them—with what success let others determine—by such considerasuccess let others determine—by such considera-tions as my own reflections have suggested, and my information supplied. And here, if I yielded to my own inclination, and consulted my own wishes, I should dismiss the subject and resume my seat. But the occasion has been seized upon by Southern gentlemen to go into a general dis-cussion of American slavery, and its connection with the Federal Government. Claims have been advanced for the institution by its advocates that are not only new and startling, but wholly inadmissible and highly dangerous. From these claims I take this, the only occasion which I have had, to express my dissent and abborrence, and against these audacious novelties I here enter my protest. And, sir, I should fail to discharge the protest. And, sir, I should fail to discharge the whole duty which the sent I occupy in this Hall imposes upon me, if I were to remain silent, and thereby give them an implied acquiescence. I shall not do it. Sir, if slavery has improperly been made the theme of discussion upon the question pending in this Committee, the friends of the admission of California are not responsible for it. They have sought to avoid it, as wholly disconnected with the subject, and were willing to give their votes silently, without delay and without debate. But it has been forced upon us, and now let it be distinctly understood, we are ready to meet it. We do not shrink from it; we stand up to it. For one, sir, I prefer the turbulence of It has been announced upon this floor, with a boldness, and, if it be not unparliamentary, with an effrontery that can find no parallel, and even

beggars and defies invective, that SLAVERY-HU MAN BONDAGE, is a blessing, and not a curse; and that it is the duty of this Govornment to protect, sustain, and extend it. The Constitution of the United States, we are told, requires it, and we are summoned to the faithful performance of our duty.

duty.
Sir, I deny it, and will not obey ary such sum-Sir, I deny it, and will not obey ary such summons, nor acknowledge any such obligations of duty. They do not exist, and if they were imposed by any human laws, I would disregard them and trample them under foot. If we were shivering under the heartless and remorseless despotism of the Emperor Nicholas, instead of standing in this Hall and giving utterance to our thoughts in the manly tones of freemen, and basking in the manly conference institutions and complete lib. sunshine of free institutions and republican lib-erty, we could not be treated with more carnest and eloquent arguments in favor of the assumed right of one part of mankind to trample upon, oppress, and enslave the other, than this debate another fourth is a desert waste, and we have at the temper and character of this discussion, and the principles erowed by members of this

In fact, sir, I am not able to discern any very sensible difference between the principles, or per hape, I should say, the platform, on which his im-perial Mejosy has placed his feet, in carrying an his relentless warfare against human rights, by the side of his remorseless and blood-thirsty acthe side of his remorseless and blood-thirsty accomplice of Austria, and that occupied by the advocates of human bondage, slavery, and oppression, on this side of the Atlantic. The rights of
man are held by the same title under European
skies that they are here, and the power, whether
wielded by one or by many, whether claimed by
an imperial despot or a legislative assembly, that
robs man of his inalienable rights, and makes him
or continues him a slave in or root inverse. or continues him a slave, is no more inexcusable and despotic there than it is here. All men are created equal. The same love of liberty that fires our hearts and nerves our arms against the oppressor, glows in the bosoms and animates the hearts of our crushed and down-trodden European brethren. And the Almighty has engraven upon the tablets of the enslaved African's heart, whether groaning in hopeless bondage in our own or in other countries, the same love of freedom that inspires us and the struggling sons of liberty

every where.
It is not too much, therefore, to say, that tears shed for oppressed Hungary, and Greece, and Italy, and other distant countries, by republicans in theory and patriots by profession, are instinged. are in fact nothing but "iron tears down Pluto's cheek," if no sympathy is felt and expressed by them for the enslaved in our country, to whom liberty is as dear as it is to them. A reference to historical facts will show the error into which honorable members have fallen, who have ven-tured to maintain that we are under an implied obligation to permit the existence of slavery in the Territories, and to extend protection to that species of property wherever the General Gov-ernment has jurisdiction. Nothing can be further from the truth than this assumption. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the only territory belonging to the United States was the Northwestern Territory, and that was protected and secured against the intro-duction of slavery by the celebrated Ordinance of Freedom of 1787. This Ordinance was passed by the Congress of the Confederation, and when, two years afterwards, the Constitution was adopted, its binding force was recognised in that instrument. The sixth section provides "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Ter-ritory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Thus was every inch of territory over which the Congress of the Confederation had jurisdic-tion or power to legislate, carefully guarded from the encroachments of slavery by a provision which it was solemnly declared should forever remain unalterable, except by common consent. And further to illustrate the sleepless jealousy

of the institution of slavery, cherished by the of of their fixed and unchangeable determin proof of their fixed and unchangeable determina-tion to chain it down and confine it to its existing limits, allow me to remind this Committee, that the first Congress under the Constitution passed a law in August, 1789, which was approved by President Washington, to continue and secure the provisions of this Ordinance in full operation and effect in the Territories. The declared purpose effect in the Territories. The declared purpose of passing the act of Congress was avowed to be "in order that the Ordinance of the United States in Congress assembled, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, may continue to have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions should be made, so as to adapt the same to the Constitution of the United States;" and the necessary provisions were incorporated in the bill, and it became a law. All the Territories were thus secured to freedom and consecrated to liberty, and slavery was confined within the limits and left to the municipal regulations of the States where it then existed. There it was permitted where it then existed. There it was permitted to linger, and left to perish under the operation of causes which have already driven it from several of the original States, and which, in the judgment of many good men, were sufficiently potential to work out its complete and speedy extermination. As a mark of subjection to a foreign Government, and as a badge of colonial vassalage that remained after the close of the struggle for independence, it was loathsome and offender gle for independence, it was loathsome and offen-sive to those who laid the foundations of our republican institutions upon the firm basis of Lineary and Equality. And for this reason it was not permitted to extend into the Territories or the new States that were to be formed out of the new States that were to be formed out of them. It was forever prohibited by an unaltera-ble decree of the supreme legislative power in the State, and the importation of slaves was to cease after the year 1808. Nothing was omitted that could be done to restrain and confine it within its original boundaries, and to secure free soil from its blighting and polluting footsteps. And if it be not profane, it may be truthfully said, that the way of the tree of life was not more carefully guarded by the Almighty, after the disobedience and expulsion of Adam from the garden of Eden, by cherubims and a fiaming sword, than was the freedom of the Territories by the wise, discreet, and patriotic legislation of those who achieved our independence and established our free insti-

red no express power to enlarge the boundaries of the country by the acquisition or annexation of neighboring nations. This dangerous power, the exercise of which has so often proved fatal to other countries, was wisely withheld. Schemes of territorial aggrandizement were not entertained or ever thought of by the great and good men who formed the Constitution. They made ample provision for the government of the States and Territories then under the jurisdiction and with-in the acknowledged limits of the United States. Beyond this they did not go. The Constitution which they adopted was ordsized and established (to use their own language) in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common de-fence, promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty—not the continuance or extension of slavery—to ourselves and our pos-

These are its avowed objects, and these the ends which it was designed to secure. And they are expressed in language so plain, in terms so easily comprehended, that "the wayfaring man," though not half as wise and learned as some honorable members on this floor, need not misunder. orable members on this floor, need not misunder-stand it. Still, it is maintained by some of the disciples of the Southern school of politicians, with a zeal and earnestness that might easily be mista-ken for sincerity by those not conversant with pro-ceedings in this Hall, that this language is without practical meaning; and that "to secure the bles-sings of liberty," if not wholly innocent in that respect, is a simple announcement that this is a pro-slavery Government, and that slavery is stamped upon its heart, and is an object of its pa-ternal regard, as it is one of its principal supports. The error and absurdity of this argument are ternal regard, as it is one of its principal supports. The error and absurdity of this argument are easily exposed, and a reference to the preamble aiready quoted will convince any one, not wholly beyond the dominion of reason, that it is entirely without any foundation to rest upon. Even the term slavery, as has often been remarked, is not to be found in the Constitution. The framers of that instrument, fresh from the battlefields of the Revolution, on which they had broken the oppressor's arm, and won glory for themselves and liberty for their ceuntry, carefully excluded the odious and hateful word; and this exclusion was not the result of accident, but of carefully-considered and deliberate design.

Sir, it is a mistaken notion that this is a proslavery Government, as some have imagined.

Sir, it is a mistaken notion that this is a pro-slavery Government, as some have imagined. I know there is a class of earnest and zealous, but, as I think, misguided men in the free States, who, like some honorable members on this floor, main-tain that it is, and denounce it as a covenant with death, and a league with hell. And as a conse-quence of this error—and it certainly is a most SEE FOURTH PAGE.